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Human Events

YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

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Ike to the Fore: The most important event in the election campaign so far took place last week when former President Eisenhower launched a vigorous attack on President Kennedy's foreign policy. Ike had been hitting hard at JFK's domestic course for some time, but had refrained from criticism of what other Republicans have been calling Kennedy's "soft on communism" posture.

On Capitol Hill, members of Congress and their staffs immediately recognized as a call to arms Ike's reference to his own record: "no walls were built" [Berlin], "no threatening foreign bases were established" [Cuba].

Within 24 hours of the former President's historic utterance, Republican leaders in Congress and the GOP National Chairman threw down the gauntlet to the Administration Democrats with the assertion that "Cuba is the dominant issue" in the congressional campaign, it is the "symbol of the tragic irresolution of the Administration." Recalling Kennedy's bungling of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the GOP said, "Past mistakes toward Cuba could be forgotten if the Administration now showed itself willing to face reality"; by pressing Cuba as the "dominant issue," the American people "can tell those who hold political power to change course."

Ike by his new step has performed still another service—he gave the nation a proper perspective and judgment on JFK's foreign policy. Most of the nation's press has for the past year grossly misreported Kennedy's course abroad, nourishing a myth that, however dubious and controversial his domestic policy, his foreign policy has been "firm" against Red aggression and has bolstered US prestige abroad. The exact opposite has been the truth for the past year. A few newspapers and publications such as HUMAN EVENTS have so reported right along. Now Ike, with his great power to reach the mass of the people, has set the record straight.

Conservative elements, both Democratic and Republican, express double gratification over Ike's stand, not only because it clears the air, but also because it ends the so-called "bipartisan foreign policy" nostrum that has impeded expression of

conservative criticism of JFK's dangerous "do nothing" policy in Cuba and Berlin. Ike's words have demolished the spurious appeals (by liberal pundits) to "avoid undermining national unity."

Politicos on Capitol Hill note that Ike showed himself a shrewd political operator in at least one point he made in his address, especially because it was delivered in Boston. He lambasted Adlai Stevenson, whom many Democrats decry as "JFK's Rasputin" (he was reportedly responsible for getting Kennedy to withhold air support from our Cuban friends in the Bay of Pigs). In Boston, it is well known that Adlai is the symbol of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action group which has such power over Kennedy—the Stevenson-Lehman-Mrs. Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party. Most Boston Irish fear and resent this ADA sway over their young President. Thus, Ike struck a deadly blow in the "land of the bean and the cod."

Those in the Capital who know the former President well believe that he is now thoroughly aroused about the "peril" to America, and not only in the realm of foreign policy. They believe he will in the remaining weeks of the campaign attack even more forthrightly. It is said he fears so deeply the growth of White House "dictatorship" that he will reveal evidence of various "secret activities and harassments" by "Jack and Bobby."

Farewell to Congress: Bitter words from a man known as "the most powerful member of the House" bade farewell to the 87th Congress, both Senate and House, as adjournment came last week after one of the most controversial sessions in history. He was Clarence Cannon, Democratic Representative from Missouri, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee—the body that handles the "big billions."

Cannon acidly arraigned both Speaker John McCormack and his right arm, Representative Carl Albert (Okla.), Democratic floor leader, as "biased" and "inept." Cannon demanded "fiscal restraint" and emphasized that we "must stop this senseless spiral of an ever-increasing public debt, of living beyond our income, most of it for nondefense purposes."

He bewailed the fact that the Administration and its leaders in Congress had shown "no interest or effort in retrenchment or return to rational fiscal policies." He noted that JFK had demanded \$6 billion more in appropriations than last year, and Cannon sourly forecast a big deficit in the current budget. (Observers predict that Cannon's "fare-

well" [*Congressional Record*, October 13] will provide ample ammunition to Republicans for the campaign.)

Cannon offered no boxscore of the session to show whether or not JFK had been successful with his program in Congress. But Everett M. Dirksen, GOP Senate leader, had already performed this task in detail (*Congressional Record*, October 11) when he summarized:

"The President made over 550 legislative requests of the 87th Congress. Despite the fact that he had a nearly two-thirds majority in the Senate and a 3-to-2 majority in the House, he obtained less than 10 per cent of what he requested. Part of the vast amount of time expended in this legislative effort in which a lion gave birth to a mouse involved three mutinies by his own party, the most notable conducted by the Democratic-liberals who had always denounced filibustering. Twenty-two business days, almost a full month, were lost in filibustering."

Best opinion puts the upshot of the session as follows: Last January, as the session opened, three measures were named as the major ones Kennedy wanted—the trade, medicare and tax bills. What was the score at the end? The trade bill—which everyone initially conceded would pass *in toto*—did so at the end of the session. Medicare was ignominiously and completely defeated. The complicated tax bill underwent prolonged and severe surgery and emerged with only about "one-third of the loaf" for the President. In short, JFK trailed on what he deemed "important" bills.

GOP Hopes Up: As a result of recent Democratic misfortunes, the GOP hopes to pick up at least two additional House seats in California and one in Maryland.

- The untimely death of Clem Miller, ultra-liberal Democratic incumbent in Northern California's big 1st District, has made a probable winner of his opponent, conservative Don Clausen. (In accord with a peculiar California law, the Democrats are running Miller as a dead man; if a majority of voters mark Miller's name, the Governor will have to call a special election.) But the Santa Rosa *Press-Democrat* (in the 1st District) claims GOP candidate Clausen should win, although a powerful COPE organization in the district will not make the Republican's victory a sure thing.

- In the 38th, California's southernmost District, Republican challenger Minor C. Martin's chances were boosted considerably last week as the newspapers reported how seriously ill his opponent, Representative D. S. Saund, still is. Saund has been hospitalized in the Bethesda Naval Hospital since May 1. While Democrats, including Speaker McCormack have minimized the gravity of the Congressman's illness, Saund (who represents Riverside and Imperial counties) is reported by others to be almost paralyzed by a stroke.

- Another unexpected prospect for a GOP victory this fall is in Maryland's 1st District, represented

by Democrat Thomas F. Johnson. A federal grand jury, after investigating Johnson for ten months, last week indicted him for attempts to defraud the United States government and illegal interventions on behalf of a savings and loan official. Johnson denies the charges, but a group of Democratic party leaders last week refused to support him, and many have expressed willingness to vote for his GOP opponent, Rogers C. B. Morton, brother of Senator Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.).

Berlin and Cuba: When Kennedy and his press aide Pierre Salinger switched on the publicity wind-machines to "alert" the public to an asserted oncoming crisis over Berlin, they probably outsmarted themselves. This is the thought current in talk by members of the press galleries.

These onlookers did not miss the following facts: West German Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder, here on a visit, could not confirm the dire predictions of a new war crisis over Berlin; British officials in London confessed they could not see the barometer registering storm signals; even Moscow appeared unusually placating, instead of threatening.

Still more suspicious was the briefing the State Department held for about 400 visiting newspaper editors and newscasters—who by the ground rules could not attribute any briefing statements to the names of those officials making them. The object of this was too transparent: to utilize the press visitors as relays for the alarm emanating from "official sources." If there really was "bad news," why didn't Kennedy say so on his own?

In short, the whole "Berlin crisis" operation soon was regarded as one of those "snow jobs" to which the Washington press has become accustomed in the past year and a half.

But why Berlin? Several reasons appear likely: (1) To talk up a crisis, in hope of talking Moscow out of starting one. Thereby, the Democratic Administration, facing a key election, could claim credit for "peace" with the voters. Or—(2) To shift the focus of popular attention from Cuba to Berlin. The GOP has named Cuba as the No. 1 issue in the upcoming elections. To "block that kick" by the Republicans, the Administration hit on a "crisis in Berlin" as the best diversionary tactic.

Kennedy in New York: The President's vigorous declaration last week that the United States would never accept permanent Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was chalked off by political observers as nothing more than a cynical sop tossed to the Poles before election day.

Yet for all his election rabble-rousing, the President smuggled in some soothing words for the Gomulka clique: Kennedy repeated that at the beginning of next year he would ask Congress to repeal the restrictions on Polish imports written into the Trade Expansion Act so the US allegedly could extend Poland the hand of friendship.

Poland has indicated the disdain with which it views friendship toward the United States by:

(1) Entering into an arms agreement in July, 1961, with North Vietnam now fighting Americans in South Vietnam.

(2) Announcing July 14 of last year it would extend \$10 million in foreign aid to Communist Outer Mongolia, which sent troops to fight American forces during the Korean War.

Apparently President Kennedy does not feel the way Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the former Prime Minister of Poland, feels. In a statement to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs last year, Mikolajczyk said: "In my opinion the best weapon in the fight against world-wide Communist aggression would be a general blockade of Soviet Russia and the whole Communist bloc."

State Department: A special bipartisan, unanimous report by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last week detailed a frightening picture of the lax security procedures followed by the Department of State.

The most dramatic evidence pinpointing the Department's faulty security practices was unearthed by subcommittee members when they examined the case history of William A. Wieland. Wieland, one of the key State Department officials who persuaded the Department to back Castro against Batista, was vociferously defended by President Kennedy last January. He presently has a top security clearance in a high-paying State Department job with powers over the Office of Security.

The subcommittee report reveals Wieland was "appointed without any security check," he "falsified his job application by omission" and "falsified by direct misstatement" an "expanded personal history form."

The subcommittee also found that Wieland "as early as 1958—or earlier—" told friends that "'Castro is a Communist'" and is "'surrounded by Commies.'" Yet, said the subcommittee, he never told this to his "superiors officially or wrote [it] in any Department paper down to the very day when Fidel Castro stood before the world as a self proclaimed Marxist." Otto Otepka, Chief of the Evaluations Division of the Office of Security, found "against Mr. Wieland on grounds of suitability and integrity."

In face of this massive indictment against Wieland, State Department press officer Lincoln White defended Wieland and added the Department would use him not only in his present job but in "other assignments" as well.

Cuba: In what appeared to be an obvious hush-up effort before election, Administration officials continued to pooh-pooh the mounting dangers of the Cuban crisis before a gathering of the country's reporters and editors in the Nation's Capital last week. Edwin M. Martin, chief of Latin American affairs in the State Department, soft-pedaled the Kremlinizing of Cuba and rebuked "Alpha 66," the now famous group of Cuban exiles which has vowed to prevent all ships from entering Cuban ports.

Judging by the grass-roots response, however, "operation hush-up" will probably not amount to much.

Item: When Kennedy hit the campaign trail in Cincinnati, he was greeted with bobbing placards reading "O. K. We licked Mississippi, now how about Cuba?", "Less profile—more courage—blockade Cuba" and "What happened to the fighting Irish?"

Item: Representative William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.) has asked "immediate" hearings on negotiations James Donovan is making with Premier Fidel Castro. Regarding reports of proposals to pay some of the ransom with Central Intelligence Agency funds, Cramer said: "This is about the greatest abuse of Presidential discretion as I can remember in the history of the country . . . If the Congress does not stop this unwholesome, degrading and humiliating blackmail idea, the prestige of the United States will be irreparably harmed."

Item: Senator Thomas Kuchel, a modern Republican up for re-election in California, recently stressed the danger in Cuba is so great the "United States may be forced to take precipitate action" and use "force if necessary."

Item: Former Senator William F. Knowland, speaking at a Republican fund-raising dinner in Nevada, called for a US naval blockade around Cuba.

Item: Retired Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Arleigh Burke, speaking in Connecticut, scored the ransoming of prisoners plan and stated: "Sooner or later we will have to destroy any Communist government in the Western Hemisphere."

Kentucky—Morton: A veteran New Dealer, first Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, comes down to the senatorial wire neck-and-neck with Kentucky's Thruston Morton. Lavishly financed from out of state, Wilson Wyatt may at this writing lead Morton by a shade. But victory will be won—or lost—in the two weeks that remain before election day.

Wyatt has campaigned hard, promising, says Morton, "everything to everybody." "Campaigning with Wilson Wyatt," opines his GOP opponent, "is like thumbing through a Sears-Roebuck catalogue."

The chief issue is the ADA. Morton blasts Wyatt, calling him the "Grandpappy of the ADA." The organization's first chairman now soft-pedals the connection, says he has little to do with ADA. He tries, moreover, to picture the group as an anti-Communist organization. In an interview with Margaret Goad, of the University of Kentucky's *Kentucky Kernel* (October 10), Wyatt said ADA was set up as an anti-Red group. He said, too,

THE REV. ROBERT T. SEBREE, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin: "I thank God that there are publications like HUMAN EVENTS with the courage to stand against the flood of socialism as it bears down on us here in America, and for free enterprise with a minimum of government interference."

that ADA "has as some of its founders, Senator Harry F. Byrd and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt."

A spokesman for Senator Byrd (D.-Va.) labels the charge "fantastic."

While Wyatt may have little to do with the ADA, the ADA has much to do with him. In late September, a group of ADA liberals met in the fashionable Georgetown house of Philip Stern, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, for a fund-raising cocktail party for Wyatt. Among the 100 persons present: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Adlai Stevenson.

Utah's King: Administration leaders are pulling out all the stops in an effort to defeat Republican Wallace Bennett, Utah's articulate conservative senior Senator. The New Frontier candidate is two-term Representative David King.

In the past year, 39 top-ranking Administration figures have entered Utah to take pot shots at Bennett. The latest is President Kennedy. Others include Vice President Johnson, Interior Secretary Udall (on a "non-political" trip), Agriculture Secretary Freeman, Senators Church, Morse, Metcalf, Proxmire, Douglas and Hartke, to name a few.

James Webb, the "non-partisan" chief of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, flew into Utah to praise King's service on the House Space Committee. That service has become a burning campaign issue. King claims major credit for defense contracts won by Utah missile firms. The record does not bear him out.

Two years ago, for instance, King got the Space Committee to pay his way back home for an "inspection tour" of Utah missile plants. While King was home politicking, the House Appropriations Committee killed the Bomarc missile appropriation (and the jobs of 1,800 Utah workers). Only the work of Bennett on the Senate side got the appropriation restored.

When attacked for his failure to testify in behalf of the program before the Appropriations Committee, King alibied that only Committee members could testify. The fact of the matter is that 14 colleagues—none of them a committee member—testified, several in opposition to the Bomarc program.

King's left-wing voting record (ACA rating: 14 per cent) has come under heavy attack. He is hit, too, for failure to oppose the Kennedy-Freeman farm bill. During the Eisenhower Administration, King voted virtually 100 per cent of the time against the free-market farm plans of Utah's Ezra Taft Benson, the then Secretary of Agriculture.

Bennett aides think the massive out-of-state aid dispatched to King by labor groups in Washington and New York will backfire. "Utah voters," says Edwin C. Bliss, one of the Senator's aides, "have demonstrated in the past that they don't like COPE and big labor field men invading the states just prior to election."

Capitol Camera: GOP leaders Goldwater, Miller and Wilson have demanded that JFK reveal "how many millions of US foreign aid dollars his Administration has promised Premier Ben Bella." They noted with indignation that Kennedy last week received the Algerian leader, who then went to Havana. There he embraced Castro and called for the US to abandon Guantanamo, our Naval base in Cuba. The Republicans pointed out that American foreign aid officials were present when the President saw Ben Bella in the White House. The GOP said the nation was "disgraced and mortified" by this performance of Kennedy's. Also, Senator Mike Monroney (D.-Okla.) urged that the "US break off all relations with Algeria." Monroney branded Bella as an "enemy" for supporting the "Soviet-Castro axis."

• *Capitol Hill kibitzers of the election campaign are pondering the implications of Kennedy's speech in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, on October 13. Kennedy crassly told Pennsylvanians how many defense contracts the Democrats have allotted to the Keystone State and urged them to elect the Democratic candidate for Governor, Richardson Dilworth. Voters expect that kind of political argument from ward bosses—but will they tolerate it from a President?*

• No doubt as a result of vote shenanigans in the past, a Texas judge has issued a writ directing the Texas Rangers to lock up—in a Corpus Christi bank safe—the ballots cast on November 6 in Duval and two other Texas counties. In the past, the ballot boxes in Duval were guarded by political associates of Democratic County Chairman George Parr, the "Duke of Duval," whose machine has produced some suspiciously lopsided votes.

• *Robert A. Taft, Jr., running for congressman-at-large from Ohio, will win in November (everyone says), but what may be news November 6 would be his victory by almost twice what his late father got in 1950. Reason: His Democratic opponent, Richard Kennedy, a "nobody," plumped for segregation and has been repudiated by the Democratic party.*

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The Oxford Incident *Its Past, Its Present and Its Future*

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK
Editor, *The Richmond News Leader*

WHAT WILL BE KNOWN in American history as the Oxford incident had its beginning, in one sense, perhaps 40,000 years ago, when the first identifiable sapient Negro man emerged in primeval Africa. Or, if that beginning is regarded as too murky, a starting point could be found in 1619, when the first Negro slaves arrived on the American continent. More definitively still, this incident began on Wednesday, February 1, 1961, when James H. Meredith, the son of Cap Meredith, the son of a slave, filed his application for admission to the University of Mississippi; and it reached its climax on the night of Sunday, September 30, 1962, when Meredith lay huddled in a bed in the university's Baxter Hall. Two marshals crouched beside him, and outside, the velvety Southern night trembled with the howls of a mob and the stench of tear-gas canisters a hundred yards away.

The incident now is identified, inescapably, as "the gravest state-Federal conflict in a hundred years." (The phrase swiftly became a cliché among the correspondents on the scene.) Trite or not, the summary phrase is true.

Mr. Kilpatrick is author of a new book, *The Southern Case for School Segregation*, published this month by Crowell-Collier Press. Portions of this article are taken from his dispatches to the *News Leader*, September 28 through October 4.

Before this savage night had ended, the vanguard of more than 15,000 Federal troops had arrived; upwards of 200 persons had been arrested, among them a former major general of the Army; the town of Oxford, Mississippi, had been subjected to formal military occupation; and the country had witnessed a shocking, sobering exhibition of bayonets unsheathed.

I CAME to Mississippi late on the night of Thursday, September 27. Earlier in the day, Meredith had been turned back in his fourth attempt to register at the University of Mississippi. He had tried once on September 20, again on the 25th, still again on the 26th—each time the state had denied him admission. It seemed likely that Friday, the 28th, would bring matters to a sudden head.

But Friday brought nothing of the sort. At Oxford, a warming sun seeped gently through the great oaks and broad magnolias that dominate the campus "Grove." The walks were crowded with some of the loveliest co-eds on earth. At Alumni Hall, nothing out of the ordinary was to be seen, apart from a beefy sextet of deputy sheriffs, gazing heavy-lidded at "The Life of Riley" on TV.

Farther down the campus, at the white-columned Lyceum, a hundred visiting journalists milled rest-



OXFORD, MISSISSIPPI, was in wild disorder Monday, October 1, as University of Mississippi students gathered around the Lafayette County Courthouse and threw bottles, rocks and anything they could find at troops that had formed

to keep a watchful eye on the town of 5,283 persons. The troops used tear gas and bayoneted rifles to disperse the crowd.

lessly around. They had nothing to do. The photographers fiddled with light meters, and a few reporters tapped out nervous leads: "An air of tension hung over Oxford, Mississippi, today." This was mostly sham. There was curiosity, and a certain suppressed excitement, but Friday at Oxford was any other day.

That night I had dinner with Bill Crider of the Memphis AP and with a local AP staffer, a youngish newsman, Van Savell. We were all abed by midnight.

Saturday morning, bored with inactivity at Oxford, I pointed the rented Chevy south. Just outside town, an Ole Miss student, a boy from Georgia, sought a ride toward Jackson. We cruised along comfortably, talking of the Meredith application, and on impulse took a detour by way of Kosciusko, home of the Meredith family. My object was to learn something more of Meredith himself, the enigmatic, faintly-smiling, 29-year-old Negro who was the ostensible cause of it all. And slowly now, for this correspondent at least, the story began to fall into place.

JAMES H. MEREDITH is one of 11 children born to a Negro farm family in Attala County. This is cotton country, and in late September the level fields are all in camouflage—the soil a bleached khaki, the plants an olive drab, the bolls a flickering white. As a child, James picked cotton, just as his father had picked cotton, just as his slave grandfather had picked cotton before him. And within the limitations of the verb, the Merediths had prospered at their work.

The correspondent who visits Kosciusko will find a town stamped from a familiar Southern mold, as stylized as any stage set: The courthouse, center, with clock, benches, monument to Confederate dead; at one side, bank, pharmacy, feed store, shoe shop. It is still a "Saturday town," we are told, and the streets are jammed. Inquiry about the Meredith family produces a courteous response: "Yes, they are well-known, especially since 'all this' came up." A clerk in the tax assessor's office exhibits public records on request. Young James is far from oppressed: He owns an old Cadillac, a new Volkswagen, a 90-acre farm, another 40-acre farm. His aging father, Cap Meredith, owns a home on South Street.

A persistent reporter finds the Meredith home at the end of a dusty lane. It is a modern bungalow, tasseled by TV antennae. James' Cadillac, propped up on blocks, is in the rear. This Saturday afternoon, both his mother and his wife are at home.

The elder Mrs. Meredith is of medium height, erect, high-boned, straight hair. Born in Attala County, she exhibits the characteristic civil reserve of the Southern Negro. She is 58; her first son, Emmett, was born when she was only 13.

The younger Mrs. Meredith, 25, is dark, plump, different in degree, different in kind. She listens with a coiled wariness to a reporter's questions, interrupting now and then to reprimand her child, John Howard. The boy, 3 in January, is supremely happy: He is eating an ice cream cone and riding a tricycle.

And again, it is stage set: Massive red armchairs, upholstered in installment mohair; a sagging couch; floor-model radio; in the corner a TV set; on the walls, tinted photographs of four sons in Air Force uniforms.

The elder Mrs. Meredith is asked about her sons. She fetches a family Bible, in order to be sure of birth-days, and fingers its worn pages as she talks. She speaks of their childhood on the farm, the four and a half miles they walked to school in Kosciusko, the hours of picking cotton in the moonlight.

The younger Mrs. Meredith breaks in with a command to young John Howard: "Say, 'I don't want to pick cotton,'" she orders him. And gleefully, rolling his eyes, he pipes the dutiful response: "I don't wanna pick cotton." His mother casts a side-long glance, and is satisfied with the effect. She taps her cigarette. "He won't pick cotton," she says flatly.

The interview proceeds. Young James had been a good boy, a good student. He had gone through most of his schooling in Kosciusko, then transferred to a Negro high school in Florida, where an uncle lives. After that, he had traveled to Detroit in search of a job. Before he was 18, he enlisted in the Air Force. This was in 1950. His mother had cried a little at the time. "But I've shed my last tear over that boy now," she added. In 1956, he met his future wife in Gary, Indiana. They spent almost three years in Japan. He took a series of correspondence courses in the Air Force, and on his discharge from service, late in 1959, enrolled at the all-Negro Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi. Thirteen months later, he applied for transfer to the all-white University of Mississippi.

His mother had known nothing of his decision. James seldom gets home to Kosciusko. How does she feel about it? She thumbs the Bible. "I think of Moses," she says. "He saw the Promised Land, but never got there. Others did. Maybe it's the same with J.H. But it's in the Lord's hands now: His will be done."

THERE WERE OTHER QUESTIONS, but at last we drove on down the Natchez Trace to Jackson, riding in thoughtful silence most of the way. That Saturday night, while lights burned late in the Pentagon and the White House, Mississippians turned out lustily for a football game. They cheered their Governor, and waved Confederate flags and sang their new state song: "*Old Mississippi, just rolling along; old Mississippi, you cannot go wrong . . .*"

The crowd was exuberant, carefree. And through one of those paradoxes that mystify the North, though Southerners understand them completely, the pro-segregation spectators saw nothing the least bit unusual in the person of the Ole Miss waterboy. Wearing white shirt and blazer, and obviously a part of the team, he trotted briskly on field at every time-out, unmistakably accepted, unmistakably Negro.

Sunday morning, as steadily as the first measures of Ravel's *Bolero*, the tension began to pick up. Word came that former General Edwin A. Walker had been in town the afternoon before. He had appeared at the Governor's Mansion, breathing Messianic fire from cold, fanatic eyes; he had conferred with the Governor; and he had gone on to Oxford 140 miles to the north.

Among the places I visited was the office of the Citizens Council, located on the third floor of the Plaza Building, just across Congress Street from the Governor's Mansion. The office was full of rumors: The troops were coming, the troops were not coming; Meredith was in Memphis, Meredith was in New Orleans; marshals were on their way to seize the Governor for contempt (he had been convicted, in absentia, on the preceding day). At 1 o'clock, the Citizens Council broadcast radio announcements of a street rally to commence at 2 o'clock.

Well before 2 o'clock, the streets surrounding the Mansion were jammed with the Governor's supporters. Not a Negro was in sight. The crowd responded warmly, if not passionately, to exhortations from a Citizens Council loudspeaker.

Watching the rally, I suddenly was conscious of a visitor in the office, a rotund, bearded gentleman, about

50, speaking in exhilarated French of an experience *tres jolie*. He identified himself as Paul Guihard, correspondent for a French press service. He had just come on the story and couldn't wait to get to Oxford. He dictated a few paragraphs by long distance to New York, waved a *bon vivant's* farewell and headed on his way.

At 5 o'clock, I finished some copy for my newspaper and walked toward a Western Union office to get it on the wire. Some youngsters in the crowd, equipped with their own loudspeaker, were nagging a man from the New York *Times*. There was an edge of ugliness in their taunts. Word had come by radio of several hundred marshals arriving at Ole Miss.

Fifteen minutes later, as I came back by, the same youngsters were oddly silent. They were standing, heads bowed, while an earnest country preacher prayed over them. Eyes closed, he clutched the microphone: "Oh, Lord God," he cried, "please help us to settle this Negro business without no violence."

Six-fifteen now, and twilight, and new word from Oxford: Meredith had arrived by plane, and was even now attempting to register at Ole Miss. State Police had made no effort to stop him at the campus gates, but the registrar had refused to accept his admission on a Sunday. The crowd outside the Citizens Council office turned quiet, apprehensive. The loudspeakers went abruptly silent. Briefly, there were incredulous murmurs that Ross Barnett had sold "his people" out.

AT OXFORD, a crowd formed to mock the marshals. These were students, for the most part, both boys and girls; but there were others also—strangers from out of state, town hoodlums, countrymen. Eyewitnesses agree that some persons in the crowd flicked cigarettes toward the marshals. A few eggs were thrown. Someone let the air out of the tires of an Army truck; someone else tossed a burning newspaper on the truck's canvas top. State police, arms joined, began to push the students back. A state senator pleaded for calm.

It was 7:58, and President Kennedy was to speak at 8 o'clock. Suddenly, on signal, the marshals put on masks. A student cried "chicken!" And chief marshal McShane, a burly ex-cop and one-time prizefighter, yelled, "Let 'em have it—gas!"

Within seconds, a rowdy crowd became a frenzied mob. The story of that fantastic night is now well-known. A little after 9 o'clock a marshal, groping through a fog of tear gas, stumbled over a body: It was Paul Guihard, shot in the back with a .32. One other man, an Oxford repairman, also died. More than a score of marshals were injured. Half a dozen state troopers were gassed. Fifty students, among them a 19-year-old girl badly burned by gas on her face and breast, were treated at the campus hospital. Bill Cridger, the AP man, was felled with two buckshot pellets in his back; the younger AP correspondent, Van, was mistaken for a student and roughly manhandled by the marshals.

I myself drove from Jackson to Oxford early Monday morning. At 3 A.M., the troops had poured in, and, by daybreak, every road was blocked by bayonets. The lovely campus of Friday afternoon had become a ruined battlefield. Burned automobiles, like dead animals, slumped lifelessly against the curbs. In the picturesque town square, made famous by William Faulkner as the legendary seat of his Yoknapatawpha County, merchants were summarily ordered to close their shops (they were not even admitted to claim their mail). Pedestrians were ordered off the sidewalks. At the nearby airport, fleets of fat-bellied Globemasters

shuttled reinforcements into town. It was total military occupation.

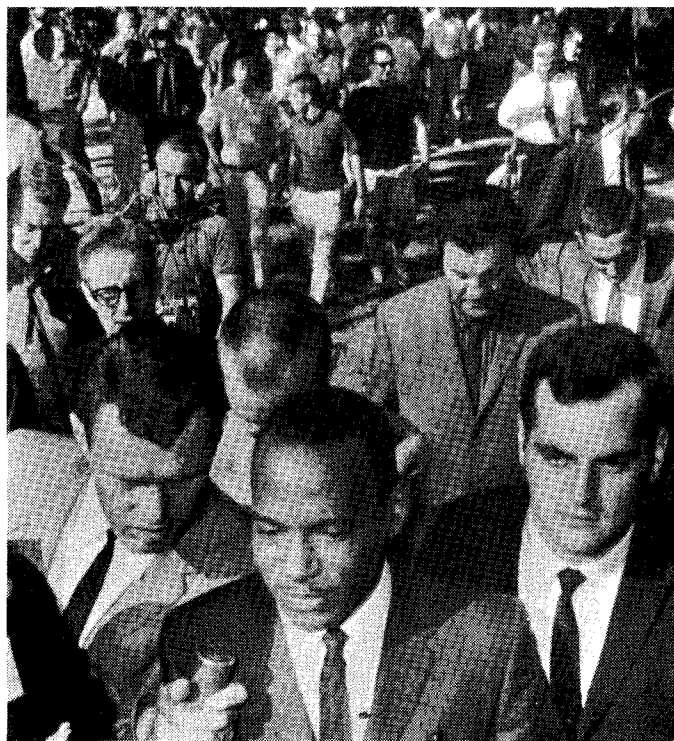
Around 10 o'clock, Meredith was escorted to the battered Lyceum, and there enrolled as a student. The littered halls were jammed with prisoners, waiting, hands on their heads, to be searched and put in custody; among them I spied the boy from Georgia I had driven to Jackson on Saturday afternoon. A little before noon, word went out to "pick up the General"; and Walker, who had been haranguing a last command of town boys near the square, was arrested at a road block, charged with sedition and hustled off under \$100,000 bond. The rest of the story is too fresh to need retelling.

Human Events has asked me, as Southerner, as editor, as reporter, to express my own conclusions and opinions. I do so without bitterness, but with a hard conviction: The Kennedy brothers bungled this one; they bungled it in every conceivable way.

In retrospect, it is plain that no genuine urgency justified the reckless and impetuous course they took. Governor Barnett's case had not been concluded in the courts. A delay of a few weeks or even a few months, pending an orderly mandate from the Supreme Court itself, would have caused no harm. By his own admission, Meredith is not primarily concerned with his own education. He is a man with a sense of mission. He could have waited.

Secondly, I can say of my certain knowledge that Mississippi was prepared—spiritually, inwardly, consciously prepared—to yield on the matter of Meredith's enrollment. It was necessary only that the proper ritual be observed.

Now, this is very important to any understanding of the Oxford incident, and it is very difficult to put in words. Outside the South, a tradition of success lies deeply engrained in the American character; but this is not true of the South: Alone, among all the



TRAILED BY NEWSMEN, James H. Meredith, first Negro ever enrolled at the University of Mississippi, strolled across the university campus on the second day of his attendance at the previously all-white institution. Besides reporters, US marshals and curious students followed along behind.

regions of the country, we have known defeat; as several historians have written, we have known what it is to do one's best in a cause, and still lose. The road from Jackson to Oxford, symbolically, was the road to Apomattox, and Mississippi knew it. The ritual demanded that Governor Barnett go to the last ditch. A tableau was required, not a tear-gas shell.

For this also should be said: No thoughtful Mississippian questioned that the President, *in terms of the end he was seeking*, had right on his side. Southerners are, at bottom, a law-abiding people. They recognized that ultimately a final pronouncement of law would have to be obeyed. They recognized the President's responsibility to enforce the orders of a court. And they agreed, pragmatically, that the President—from his point of view—had no choice: If he backed down, desegregation in the South was done for; every one-room schoolhouse would become another Oxford, Mississippi. Politically, because politics is an art form in the South, they understood fully the forces operating on the White House. In these various senses, the President was right. Of course he was right.

But in the means he adopted toward his end, Mr. Kennedy could not have been more wrong. Precipitously, he rushed his forces into Mississippi in the worst possible order, and at the worst possible time: He picked a Sunday (which offended many Mississippians to begin with), and he insanely sent Meredith in at night.

He held back troops (as once before, in another catastrophic misjudgment, he once held back air cover) until the situation was completely out of hand. And then he sent in such armies that a bad affair turned into a grotesque and monstrous nightmare.

It is true that Governor Barnett, responding Saturday night to a specific question from Attorney General Kennedy, said that he felt Sunday would be better than Monday. Mr. Barnett knew that hundreds, if not thousands, of hot-eyed segregationist troublemakers were about to converge on Oxford from other states. His reasoning was that if the deed were to be done, it were well it were done quickly.

But, clearly, the most prudent time was neither Sunday nor Monday; it was later in the week, when a respectable body of troops could have been sent in to place a formal guard around the campus, sealing it off with the steel symbolism the Governor required. If Meredith had to be enrolled (setting aside all questions of law and prudence), this was the way to do it. And this is not hindsight. It was the judgment of Mississippians 24 hours before the riot.

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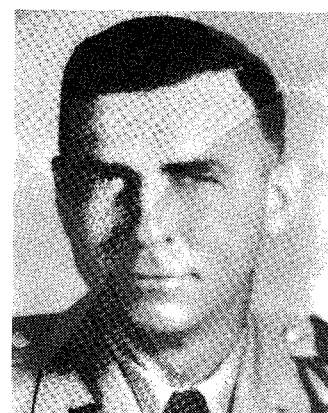
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BARNETT



WALKER

Finally, I would express the resentment widely felt in the South against Mr. Kennedy for what is viewed as the shabby political motivation behind his invasion. It is impossible for us to forget that various Negro pressure groups have been riding the President hard for delaying a response to their civil rights demands. With an election less than a month away, the humiliation of Mississippi offered the Kennedy brothers a sure-fire political appeal in Northern states and congressional districts where Negro bloc votes are most important. They gambled on winning more in the North than they would lose in the South. In the short haul, they probably will succeed. But the South has a long memory, and it will not forget Oxford any time soon.

Nor should the American Republic as a whole forget it any time soon. The violence at Oxford certainly is not to be condoned. Not for an instant. This was lawlessness incarnate, ugly, terrifying.

But neither should it be forgotten that the Governor of Mississippi had a measure of right on his side in attempting to devise new legal tests of "the law" handed down by the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases of 1954. A great part of the South still believes sincerely in the wrongness of that decision. We believe that the 14th Amendment, never lawfully ratified to begin with, never was intended to prohibit to the states the power to operate racially separate public schools. And we see no harm in pounding away at that conviction in the hope, however forlorn, that other parts of the Republic in time will awaken to the dangers of judicial legislation having the effect of constitutional amendment.

For one impression stands out, bayonet sharp, above all the rest: It is the impression of naked force, imposed by Federal decree to achieve a sociological end. It cannot escape notice that greater violence, greater anarchy, is viewed indifferently on picket lines. We cannot forget the punctilious nicety with which the Supreme Court preserves due process for Communist defendants.

The President gives voice to the ideal that ours is a government of law, not of men; and, within hours, he makes a mockery of the supreme law which declares that Federal power may be used to suppress domestic violence only on the request of the state legislature, or of the governor when the legislature cannot be convened.

Sober lessons, these; and the course is not finished. Troops still patrol Oxford, and marshals still accompany Meredith to his classes; and the end is not in sight. It is not in sight in Mississippi, and on a broader stage, encompassing controversies yet unknown, it is not in sight in this Republic, either.

Political Allocation of Defense Contracts

Human Events gets many inquiries as to the procedure by which JFK uses government spending—now approaching \$100 billion a year—as a political weapon.

We passed on one inquiry to a friend in the Pentagon who is genuinely disturbed about the future of FREE elections. In this new Kennedy era, voters, in deciding how they shall cast their ballots, must reckon with the New Frontier's cynical determination to reward or punish individuals, firms, communities and states in accordance with their willingness to accept government dictation of their election choices.

From our friend in the Pentagon came this explanation: "Here is how it works. Every top official associated with the placement of defense contracts has by this time learned the unwritten question: 'Will the defense of the country be hurt if this contract is awarded politically?'"

"If the answer is no, the political agents of the White House tell us who gets the contracts."

The proof is everywhere. Douglas Aircraft, which is having financial difficulties, got a \$141-million, cost-plus-fixed-fee contract three weeks after it capitulated to the Administration's demand—expressed in a labor mediation—that it sign an "agency shop" contract with its unions. The aerospace industry has been the principal major industry holdout against compulsory unionism. The AFL-CIO made it clear that it expected White House pressures to break down the united industry opposition. Douglas which was in the weakest position cracked. So, after the surrender, Douglas got the above-mentioned fat contract.

Today Democratic candidates are telling Douglas workers: "Show your gratitude for the \$141-million contract by voting for the candidate JFK has okayed."

A broad hint has been given to Big Industry management: Don't fight 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Your directors and stockholders will hold you responsible if you lose big contracts. You may lose your jobs. On the other hand, if you play ball, your companies should reward you with bigger salaries and bigger stock options. You will get a reputation for turning small profit corporations into big profit corporations. You may get appointed to Presidential Commissions or Advisory Boards. Your wife will like the forthcoming invitations to the White House. Smother that conscience of yours and play ball, Ambitious Executive. Play ball.

Rewards for the Faithful

From the *Chicago Tribune*

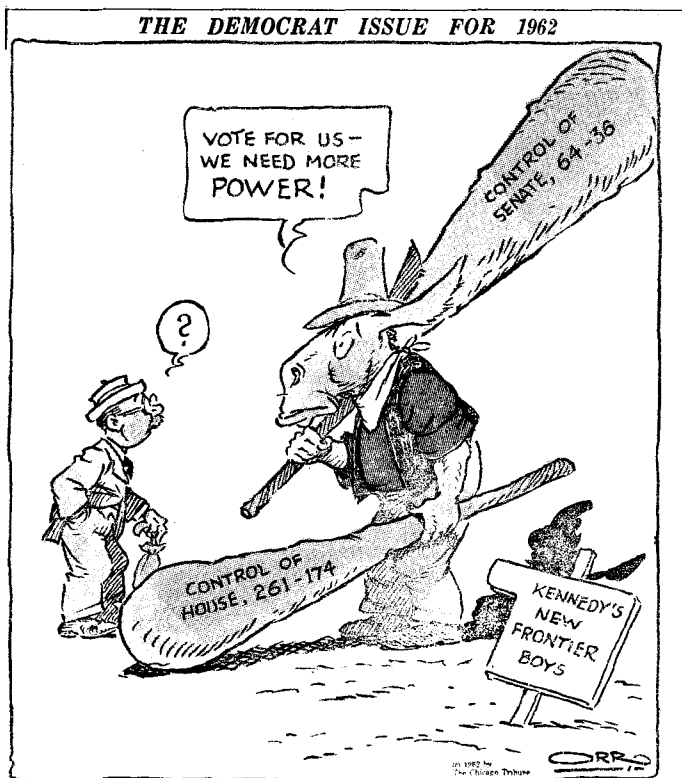
President Kennedy, on an electioneering visit to West Virginia, told the residents of that state how he was paying them off in Federal cash for their votes in the primary election of 1960 which, he said, "sent me out into the world." He was referring to his decisive victory over Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, turning point in the campaign which led to Mr. Kennedy's nomination for the Presidency.

He boasted that his Administration has quadrupled prime defense contracts in West Virginia to a level of nearly \$150 million a year. He said he also has increased public works spending and increased the distribution of free food packages. As a result, he said, the state is enjoying a new economic climate.

We are not in favor of buying votes, but since Mr. Kennedy seems to be in this business it is only fair to recall that Illinois also deserves some repayment for sending him "out into the world." He carried Illinois by a reported margin of 8,858 votes, and there is much evidence that at least that many votes were stolen in Chicago. He carried Texas by a reported margin of 46,233, probably because 100,000 or so votes for Richard Nixon were disqualified by Democratic election officials.

Texas has been repaid by receiving the multi-million-dollar manned space aircraft center at Houston. So far, Illinois has got mostly what the little boy shot at. Out of \$6.6 billion spent and to be spent by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the period from mid-1960 to mid-1963, only \$26.9 million was allotted to Illinois. The most favored states were California, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, Virginia, Ohio, New York, Maryland, Texas and Mississippi. In the 1961 fiscal year, Illinois received only 1.03 per cent of the total of research and development contracts.

President Kennedy is scheduled to speak in Chicago on October 19 during a tour which also will include Springfield, Illinois. We trust that in one of his Illinois appearances he will make some mention of the debt which he owes to this state, or at least to the Cook County Democratic organization.



JFK's Power Politics

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In Washington, there is increasing talk and a growing cause for alarm over this New Frontier power policy: If they don't agree with us, blackjack them into submission.

Much of the concern over the Kennedy Administration's pressure politics has remained hidden, but some has bubbled to the surface. The power of the Presidency has been felt in the press, the public, the business community and, particularly, in the Congress.

Says Representative Bruce Alger (R.-Texas): "This Congress must remind President Kennedy that he is an elected head of the state, not a ruler by divine right nor one maintained by armed force."

Says Representative Steven Derounian (R.-N.Y.): "He was inaugurated President and not coronated king."

Senator Robert S. Kerr (D.-Okla.), incensed by the New Frontier's "influence by pressure" policy, told the Senate recently that he honored the President, but he honored the wishes of the people of Oklahoma even more.



ALGER



DEROUNIAN



KERR

Just what is this all about? Who's being pressured? How are they being pressured? Why are they being pressured?

The World has probed into the situation, sifting fact from gossip. Some of the information is from material compiled by the obviously concerned House Republican Policy Committee, but much of it is from Democrats, who also are repulsed by the idea of being bludgeoned into legislative submission.

Characteristic of the pressure is the fact that many congressmen involved, although angry, still asked that their names be withheld for fear of provoking further reprisals.

Here is the eye-opening story:

PRESIDENT KENNEDY in 1960 took to the American people a racy, wide-ranging legislative program. He promised action, if elected President.

Since assuming the Presidency, Jack Kennedy has had a tough time trying to get action in the Congress. He has had to marshal all the forces at his command to acquire support for his programs.

This has not been easy, nor has the effort been limited to Washington, D.C.

- Couples applying for marriage licenses in heavily-Democratic Chicago have been asked to sign petitions favoring the Administration's medical care proposal.

- Postmasters in Mississippi recommended by Representative John Bell Williams (D.-Miss.) couldn't get their nominations—because of some of Williams' votes opposing New Frontier programs.

- Defense contractors in Michigan jumped on the phone to call their congressmen in response to calls from the Department of Defense threatening cancellation of contracts unless a pet Kennedy project received House approval.

- A St. Petersburg, Florida, newspaper reported that Democratic congressmen in that state had been threatened with a loss of contracts, patronage and even public works projects unless their voting records "improved" to the Kennedy Administration's satisfaction.

One bitter congressman describes the blackjack schemes as nothing more than "pressure, purchase and promises."

The Democratic leadership was having difficulty in rounding up votes for the minimum wage bill. It was decided to dangle some bait: special standards for which wreathmakers, processors of "shadegrown tobacco," workers employed as cotton ginnerers, radio station employes in cities of less than 100,000—all designed to attract individual votes. Even so, a Republican substitute won out.

Sometimes the pressure gets down to almost bare-knuckle tactics.

- A Republican member of the House Public Works Committee was told by an agency official that it would be unfortunate if he opposed the standby public works bill in committee because then projects planned in his district would be canceled.

- A prominent House committee chairman, admittedly cool to many New Frontier proposals, has become more friendly to the Administration—after a series of discussions with the Attorney General about efforts to merge some of his business interests.

- A day before the final vote on the House farm bill was scheduled, the Administration sent out the big guns, dangling patronage and other plums. Postmaster General Day and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman made the speaker's lobby a "miniature White House" for consultation with members reported "on the fence."

Minority members found so much pressure exerted on the Administration's farm bill that they prefaced their views in the committee report:

"The Administration has finally forced its bill (H.R. 11222) out of the Committee on Agriculture only by the repeated application of intense political pressure, the like of which we have never witnessed in the past.

"In spite of this pressure, the bill just barely cleared the committee (which is controlled by a margin of 21 to 14 by the majority) by a vote of 18 to 17, with one proponent publicly stating that he would oppose the bill on the floor of the House. And this action came only after three desperate attempts to report the bill on April 13, May 2 and May 7, 1962."

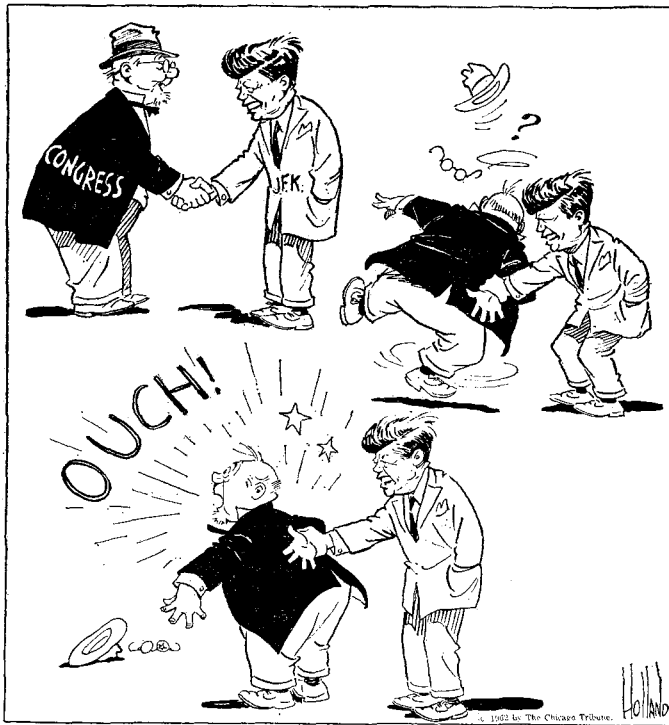
At one time, when it appeared the farm bill would never get out of committee, a Democratic committee member received a phone call from President Kennedy.

An inside-the-committee source reports that the congressman was told that, unless he voted to report the bill, he would be defeated by whatever means possible in his upcoming Alabama primary election.

The Administration was pinning its prestige on the farm vote and a count of noses disclosed that the vote would be close. Things got rough:

A Democratic member from the Southwest who sought to vote in the well of the House, was almost forcibly removed from the front of the chamber until the leadership got the idea he would support the Administration. (Once he was given the opportunity to vote, he instead supported the Republican recommittal motion.)

THE WHITE HOUSE HANDSHAKE



Representative Otis Pike (D.-N.Y.) issued a news release the day of the voting in which he called Democratic pressures on him "arm twisting" of the worst sort. He said the Post Office Department, which had several new branches pending in his district, sent a representative to discuss the farm bill in relation to construction of the mail facilities.

Pressure on the Democratic majority members became so great that even an amendment providing that the "total number of employees in the Department of Agriculture shall at no time exceed the number of farmers in America," was defeated, 230 to 171.

'Packing' the Rules Committee

On the Administration's first important vote in Congress early in 1960, many high Administration officials turned on the pressure to round up the necessary votes to "pack" the Rules Committee. The packing would supposedly give the Kennedy proposals an easier slide to the House floor.

The word was out that a district of a Western congressman would be hacked to pieces in an upcoming population-change apportionment. The grand design was to eliminate the GOP legislator by tearing out the Republican heart of his district and supplying him with thousands of new Democratic registrants.

Just before the Rules vote, the congressman received an ominous telephone call. The high-ranking caller told him, "Support the Administration on this vote and your district will be protected."

The congressman, highly principled and not one to knuckle under to pressure, was shocked—and incensed.

On the day of the important vote, he arose from a hospital bed over the objections of his doctors, took an ambulance to Capitol Hill, struggled to the well of the House, shouted "NO!" at the call of his name and took the ambulance back to the hospital, where he slept a good sleep.

The Rules Committee expansion scheme won by five

votes.

Representative John Kyl (R.-Iowa) recently disclosed this startling story:

His opponent, in a taped radio interview with Edward A. McDermott, head of the White House Office of Emergency Planning, asked about a defense installation planned for Ottumwa, Iowa.

McDermott's reply: "The election of a Democratic congressman from the 4th District would be a contribution to the possibility of locating such a site there."

The Democratic Administration, legislators found, is not above purging members of the Democratic party.

John Dowdy, Democratic Congressman from Texas' 7th District and chairman of that state's congressional delegation, is a conservative who often votes against Kennedy programs. Earlier this year, Dowdy knew he was to have a tough primary fight, particularly when his opponent, a former football star, was named by Kennedy to the President's Council on Youth Fitness.

There was no mistaking the meaning: The Administration wanted Dowdy's opponent to replace Dowdy in Congress. The appointment provided him with "stature."

The Administration's plot backfired. Dowdy, telling his conservative-minded district he would, if elected, continue conservative representation in Congress, won the election. The Administration, however, didn't miss by far. Dowdy won by only 41 votes.

Another congressman from the West had raised the ire of the White House by voting against several New Frontier legislative proposals.

He was a cinch to be endorsed by his state's Democratic convention. After a phone call from President Kennedy's brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, on the night before the convention's opening session, the convention head uncorked a new twist.

He stood up at the convention, said he didn't think the delegates should endorse the incumbent because of his poor voting record in Congress. The congressman did not receive the endorsement.

Pressures on the Press

The press has not been overlooked by the New Frontier. Privately, many Washington newsmen are grumbling over White House "leaks" to reporters or papers favorable to the Administration.

Members of the press have learned the pressures which an angry Administration can bring to bear.

- Word that threat of anti-trust action led a large newspaper chain to sharply curtail any criticism by its columnists of the President or his Administration came to light recently with announcement by Walter Winchell that he would cease distribution of his column through the Hearst syndicate. Winchell claimed publicly that his column had been censored whenever it criticized the New Frontier.

- Newsmen were aghast when, after filing stories during the Kennedy vs. Big Steel controversy, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation awakened them in the wee hours of the morning for what was called routine questioning.

- There was the cancellation of the New York *Herald Tribune* subscriptions by the White House, presumably

to spread geographical basis of newspapers received but, newsmen say, actually in protest against news and cartoons unfavorable to the Administration.

Soon, the *Herald Tribune* disappeared from the Speaker's lobby of the House until Representative John Lindsay (R.-N.Y.) protested on the House floor. It happened at the time a long-time White House employe was fired, presumably for failure to keep accurate account of the President's "rapid bursts of speed" on his stenotype machine. Some bird-dog reporters found it may have happened because he kept too accurate records, one headlining a Kennedy story, "Dictated from the swimming pool."

Congress Gets Prodded

A House subcommittee is looking into the Defense Department's withholding of nonclassified public information from a member of Congress who has been critical of waste in defense procurement.

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, in a letter to Representative Earl Wilson (R.-Ind.), confirmed he had ordered Wilson's name off a department mailing list to receive announcements of competitive bids on proposed purchases and on nonclassified contracts to be let through negotiation.

McNamara said Wilson has used the public information to point to unnecessary expenditure of public funds. McNamara, in explaining removal of the Congressman's name from the list, said keeping it on was too great an "administrative burden."

Wilson, calling the action a "reprisal, pure and simple," noted names of manufacturers' agents and other public officials remained on the list.

The Moss subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee will look into the legality of McNamara's decision.

Wilson's recent disclosure of an overpayment of \$1.3 million on a Navy contract was cited by the House Armed Services Committee in its successful bid to tighten up defense buying.

Some Congressmen Rebel

Congress has rebelled against the pressures exerted by the Kennedy Administration to obtain votes for pet pieces of legislation.

This is the feeling of one congressman, who has himself felt the arm-twisting and doesn't want to invite any more by use of his name.

"The President's record with this Congress is dismal," he said, "and you can lay the blame right on the blackjacks at the White House. Members of Congress are prima donnas, in the main, and they want to be persuaded, not pressured."

This legislator even doubts that President Kennedy knows all that is going on in the Administration's attempt to round up votes in Congress. "The President served in the House and Senate. He knows how we think. He either doesn't know or doesn't approve of some of the tactics.

"Why one of the boys from Larry O'Brien's [the President's chief liaison man with Congress] walked into the office of a committee chairman one day and

flatly said to vote 'yes' on an upcoming vote or the three post offices in his district would disappear. This was to a committee chairman, mind you!"

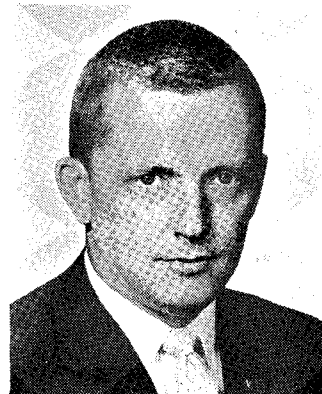
The congressman says, "This high-pressure, shinkicking stuff doesn't pay off—and the President's poor legislative record has been the result."

Food Stamp 'Payola'

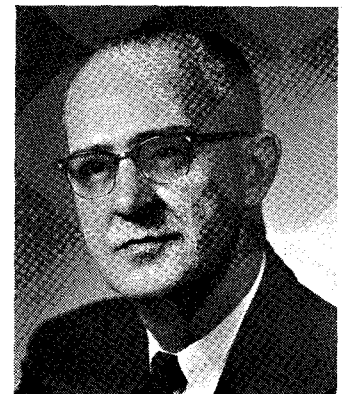
Who would play politics with human misery?

That question was asked, in shocked despair, by Frank Holeman, syndicated columnist for the *New York Daily News*, when he reported last month some political payola in the food stamp program.

Representative Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) has kicked up a howl about the stamp plan, which cost \$25 million last year and has been budgeted for \$50 million this year. Hall says the Department of Agriculture-administered program has "become a brazen political slush fund," parceling out money to congressional districts represented only by Democrats.



FINDLEY



HALL

The plan was set up in April, 1961, on a pilot basis in eight areas of chronic unemployment selected by Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman. All eight areas were represented by Democrats. The department announced that 18 more congressional districts would receive food stamp aid. Only one is represented by a Republican.

Under the program, families are given food stamps instead of government surplus food.

The score of 25 to 1 is disturbing when considering many depressed areas which have been overlooked. In Pennsylvania, eight depressed areas represented by GOP legislators—including Johnstown, which the Department of Labor says has the highest unemployment rate in the country—were disregarded. Two other Pennsylvania districts, represented by Democrats, were selected.

Representative Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) thought the matter was peculiar and wrote Agriculture Committee Chairman Harold Cooley (D.-N.C.), asking for an investigation.

Findley received this one-sentence letter from Cooley:

"Your letter of August 10 requesting that the House Committee on Agriculture conduct an investigation. . . is utterly ridiculous."

Reprints of this section are available: Single copy 20 cents; 10 for \$1; 25 for \$2; 100 for \$5; 500 for \$20; 1,000 for \$30. Order by section number and date of issue.

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- How bureaucrats waste time and money.
- How we can lower taxes.
- How taxation hurts the economy.

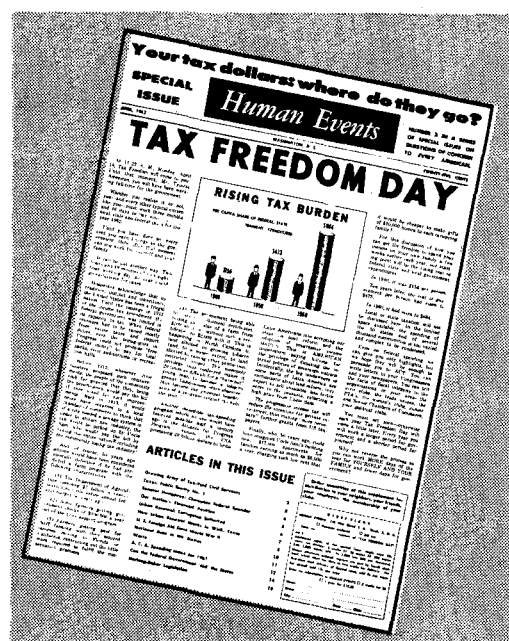
PLUS—stories about a special garage for congressmen that will cost \$22,000 per car stall; about "Fast Pencil" Freeman's attempt to hoodwink the taxpayers, and about one week of wild spending by Congress.

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RACES

By WILLIAM SCHULZ

of the Week

Colorado Senate Race

Dominick vs. Carroll

A NEW YORK-BASED GROUP called the National Committee for an Effective Congress is raising \$50,000 for Colorado Senator John A. Carroll.

The funds are to be used in a desperate attempt to defeat Carroll's Republican opponent, Representative Peter H. Dominick. To help raise the money, Minnesota Senator Eugene J. McCarthy dispatched letters to wealthy liberals across the country, stressing the importance of the Colorado contest.

In Carroll, McCarthy wrote, liberals have "an indispensable vote on crucial international and domestic issues." Senator Carroll is, in truth, little more than a vote. (He is "an Administration rubber stamp," says Dominick.)

Carroll is chairman of the Senate Interior Committee's Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels, a job he won because mining has long been recognized as an integral part of the Colorado economy. During the past two years, however, Carroll has had his subcommittee in session only 4 hours and 45 minutes.

Senator Carroll is a member, too, of the Interior Committee's important Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee. During the 87th Congress, the subcommittee met for 25 hours. Carroll attended for a total of 43 minutes. "In short," says Dominick, "my opponent served the interests of his state and country on the committee less than one hour during the past two years."

CARROLL'S DO-NOTHING RECORD is by no means the only issue in this campaign. Perhaps the major bone of contention is Carroll's extremely liberal voting record, which prompted Senator McCarthy to make his great literary effort to raise \$50,000 for the one-term Colorado Democrat.

Carroll is recorded by the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action as voting 100 per cent liberal. (His ACA rating: 1 per cent conservative.)

While a US Representative in 1947-50, Carroll voted "nay" in ten roll calls on matters dealing with communism. He opposed such things as Federal loyalty checks, more funds for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, registration of Communist-front organizations and the Internal Security Act of 1950—a measure passed only over a Truman veto.

Republican Dominick, who won election to the House two years ago in a smashing upset, is climaxing a campaign that will take him into every one of the state's 63 counties.

A combat veteran (he flew the China-Burma hump as a World War II pilot), Dominick considers foreign policy a major issue. Here, too, the issues are clearly drawn.

Carroll supports the Administration policy down the line. Dominick calls for a blockade of Cuba to keep Russian military supplies from getting through to Castro.

"We must reverse the present trend of indecision and inaction in our relations with other nations. We must establish a firm and positive foreign policy aimed at taking the initiative away from the Communist bloc, and begin backing up our high-sounding words with equally noble deeds to advance the cause of freedom among liberty-loving peoples of the world," says Dominick.



DOMINICK

This is the 13th of a special series of "Races of the Week," a *Human Events* pre-election feature. For each week until election day, *Human Events* will present a detailed analysis of key election contests from coast to coast.

Utah Senate Race

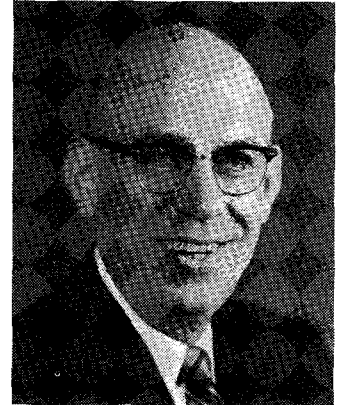
Bennett vs. King

THE SMOOTH-RUNNING, well-financed senatorial campaign of liberal Democrat David S. King has Utah's Wallace Bennett, one of the Republican party's most articulate conservatives, in serious trouble.

Lavishly financed from out of state (COPE, the National Committee for an Effective Congress, the United Steelworkers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers), King's campaign has made considerable headway.

King forces have been able to buy twice the television time of Bennett, and his billboards far outnumber those of the hard-working GOP Senator.

While Bennett stuck by his job in Washington, King left the House of Representatives to campaign in Utah. King missed virtually all roll calls in July, August and September.



BENNETT

All of which is ironic, because King has called for enforcement of a 105-year-old law that stipulates congressmen who miss roll call votes should have their pay reduced. When the Washington *Evening Star* recently called King in the middle of the week, it was told that he was campaigning in Utah and could not be reached for comment.

King's tireless vote-seeking has made him, at this moment, a slight favorite. With Senate adjournment, Bennett has returned home to rally his forces in the few weeks that remain before election day.

Bennett notes that King—a self-styled moderate—tries hard to grasp the coat tails of his late father, a conservative Democrat who represented Utah in the Senate for 24 years until his primary defeat in 1940.

BENNETT HITS HARD at King's voting record, showing that King is classified as 100 per cent "liberally oriented" by the Americans for Democratic Action and 100 per cent "pro-COPE" by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education.

King has had seven tax-paid assistants in Utah working on his campaign. Together they have tried to build the image of a personable young Congressman, of moderate persuasion, "who does more for Utah."

They claim that King, who serves on the House Space Committee, has won important missile contracts for Utah. The record shows that Utah's seven major contractors received only \$100,000 out of \$6.6 billion spent in the last three years.

King has yet to testify before the House Appropriations Committee in favor of a single Utah project. Bennett has worked tirelessly for his constituents—without, however, violating conservative principles.

A Democratic-controlled Senate-House conference committee recently refused to approve stepping-up work on a project (already authorized) to bring water to Central Utah. The reason: Bennett crossed Representative Michael J. Kirwan, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, by voting against Kirwan's pet boondoggle, a \$10-million aquarium for the District of Columbia.

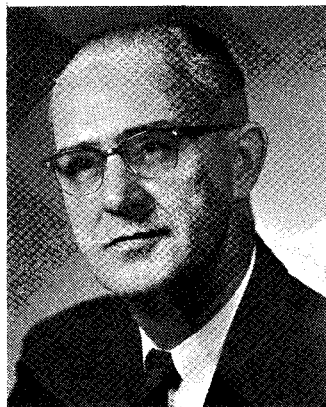
Bennett first won election to the Senate in 1950, defeating three-term Democrat Elbert Thomas. Re-elected in 1956, he is—with the retiring Prescott Bush of Connecticut—one of the GOP's real experts in the field of finance and the economy.

Hall vs. Thomas

TWO-TERM REPRESENTATIVE Charles H. Brown of Missouri's 7th District was Senator Stuart Symington's campaign manager when the Missouri solon sought vainly to wrest the Democratic Presidential nomination from JFK in 1960.

While Brown scoured the country looking for delegates who would vote for Symington, a Springfield physician covered the 7th District looking for conservative voters. When the returns were in, Durward G. Hall had scored a massive, 19,000-vote triumph. Brown, who sought his third term, had been considered one of the Democratic party's leading liberal lights.

Less than two months after Hall came to Washington, he had an opponent for 1962. On February 28, 1961, a Joplin appliance (General Electric) dealer, Jim Thomas, filed for the Democratic nomination. He has campaigned energetically ever since.



HALL

Representative Hall, Thomas says, "does not know the difference between communism and rheumatism." Thomas has made medicare a major campaign issue and calls Hall a tool of the American Medical Association. Hall, an articulate foe of the Administration's King-Anderson Bill, says that he is no more a tool of the AMA "than my opponent is a tool of General Electric."

It is often difficult to see if it is Hall, or the AMA, who is Thomas' opponent. The Democratic nominee incorrectly charged the AMA with opposing the World War II blood program. He does not mention that Dr. Hall set up the first blood center in central Missouri.

The 37-year-old Thomas is well known in the western end of the district, thanks largely to a TV "Western" sponsored by his own firm on a Joplin channel for several years. Thomas announced his own commercials until recently. Huge pictures of Thomas are everywhere in the district. Republicans find he has bought up virtually all available billboard space.

REPUBLICAN HALL charges that Thomas would be a New Frontier "rubber stamp." Thomas has done little to refute the charge. In a recent appearance before the League of Women Voters, Thomas said he favors—as does Kennedy—foreign aid for Communist countries.

He said also that he favors repeal of the Connally Amendment, which protects US sovereignty in the World Court. Congressman Hall comes out squarely against repeal.

Hall has a staunchly conservative voting record (ACA rating: 95 per cent conservative). It was he who called attention to the Administration's blatantly political Federal food stamp program. Hall revealed that 25 of the 26 congressional districts selected for this Federal subsidy were represented by Democrats.

The Senate Appropriations Committee virtually acknowledged the validity of his charges by directing the Secretary of Agriculture to submit the food stamp program to regular congressional appropriations and controls beginning next year.

Democrat Thomas is expected to receive substantial labor aid. Congressman Brown received more than \$12,000 from labor groups in 1960.

The 7th District has been enlarged by redistricting to include 21 counties. Of the four new counties, three are classified as Republican and one as unpredictable politically.

Reprints of this section are available: Single copy 20 cents; 10 for \$1; 25 for \$2; 100 for \$5; 500 for \$20; 1,000 for \$30. Order by section number and date of issue.

Spence vs. Watson

A 34-YEAR-OLD, one-time all-state football star is out to accomplish something that has yet to be done in the history of South Carolina: win election to the United States House of Representatives as a Republican.

Six years ago, the voters of Lexington County sent Floyd Spence to the State Legislature. He was re-elected in 1958, again in 1960, and had filed for re-nomination this year.

Little more than two months before the Democratic primary in June, State Representative Spence dropped a small-sized bombshell on party leaders. Writing to his county chairman, Spence asked that his name be withdrawn as a Democratic candidate for re-election. He at the same time announced his resignation from the Democratic party:



SPENCE

"Since the death of Congressman John J. Riley, some of my conservative Democrat friends have urged me to seek election to the United States Congress from this district on the Democratic ticket. I could not in good conscience seek this party's nomination for national office since it would put me in the position of aiding the national Democratic party in its present policies by voting to organize the Congress as a Democrat-controlled body. Yet it is in the Congress that our constitutional conservative voice must be heard.

"Little by little," he continued, "we have begun to hear conservative voices in the Republican party. We are astonished to hear our beliefs being echoed by national leaders of this party and are surprised to see our more conservative representatives voting with them in Congress. Many of us have at long last come to the realization that the party of our fathers has left us and our beliefs. What is the course for the future?"

The course, decided Spence, was to be found within the Grand Old Party. With his simple letter to his county chairman, Democrat Spence renounced the party of his fathers ("The Party has renounced us," he says) and accepted the Republican nomination for Congress in South Carolina's 2nd District.

THE OBSTACLES are, of course, high. South Carolina has yet to elect a Republican to statewide or national office. But only last year two Republicans—the first in 60 years—were sent to the State Legislature.

Spence has launched an energetic campaign to carry a district that went for Richard Nixon by 62 per cent in 1960. His opponent, Albert Watson, tries to picture himself as more conservative than the Republican nominee. Watson toiled as a paid (\$150 a week) campaign worker for Richard Nixon in 1960. (Spence worked at no pay.)

Watson's chief financial backer is Lester Bates, Mayor of Columbia and a major supporter of liberal Senator Olin D. Johnston, who faces a strong re-election challenge from Republican William D. Workman.

Republicans note that only one of the ten outstanding citizens who served with Watson on the committee of Democrats for Nixon-Lodge in 1960 is supporting Watson in this election.

FREEDOM OR FREELOADING?—"To me, it is unconscionable for the leaders of a country to cry for independence, and then in the next breath demand economic aid for its survival. It is all very well for such countries to want to stand on their own feet, but they should not try to walk before they can crawl, and when the time comes, they should be able to stand without leaning on America." (Senator Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana Democrat)

Conservative Candidates Needing Your Help

Martin vs. Hill—Alabama Senate

Attractive, aggressive GOP candidate James D. Martin may well be Alabama's first Republican senator since Reconstruction. A former president of the Associated Industries of Alabama, Martin is scoring heavily by exposing the liberal voting record of incumbent Democrat Lister Hill, who has an ACA rating of only 17 per cent. Martin charges that Hill is a "Kennedycrat" who has forgotten about the voters of Alabama after 39 years in Washington—"living in an isolation tower surrounded by liberal dreamers."



MARTIN

Democrat Hill is running scared. Evidence of this is the fact that he is making his first real statewide campaign since 1944. Also, earlier this year in an effort to convince the voters of his conservatism, Hill surprised everyone by voting against the Administration's medicare bill. Martin does not intend to let Hill fool the voters with this one vote.

The Republican organization in Alabama is youthful and energetic and this Senate seat can no longer be considered safely Democratic.

Dobbs vs. Thornberry—10th Texas

Unopposed since his election in 1948, Representative Homer Thornberry faces strong opposition this year from a young conservative who is a newcomer to politics as a candidate. Republican Jim Dobbs, stressing the theme, "It's Time for a Change," has campaigned on foot in every one of the 117 towns and communities in the 10th District. Defeat for the Democrats here would be a big upset since the District includes Austin, the seat of the Democratic state organization. Thornberry's 1962 rating by Americans for Constitutional Action is 16 per cent.



DOBBS

Dobbs, a veteran telecaster, is not unaccustomed to public appearances. For the past two years he has been a political activist, lecturing to thousands of people on the free enterprise system.

Incumbent Thornberry is rated by both the ultra-liberal ADA (90 per cent) and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department (100 per cent) as the most liberal Congressman from

Texas. Although previously a predominantly Democratic stronghold, the 10th District is now being swept by a heavy tide of dissatisfaction with Thornberry's voting record. Prominent conservative Democrats have recently formed a "Democrats for Dobbs" organization and Dobbs takes great hope from the past: In all elections based on a conservative-vs.-liberal philosophy, the 10th District has always voted heavily in favor of conservatism.

Hansen vs. Harding—2nd Idaho

Conservative Republican Orval Hansen has one of the most impressive backgrounds of any challenger the West has seen in a longtime. Only 35, he is presently majority leader of the Idaho House of Representatives. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Idaho, Hansen worked his way through The George Washington University Law School. After studying abroad on a Rotary International scholarship, Hansen returned to Idaho and won election to the Idaho House, unseating an entrenched incumbent. Re-elected in 1958 and 1960, he has never missed a roll call vote.



HANSEN

Hansen's opponent, liberal Democrat Ralph R. Harding (ACA rating: 0 per cent), was an upset winner in 1960. Harding was elected in the 2nd District with only 51 per cent of the vote in a campaign replete with slurs on the religious scruples of the GOP incumbent. Hansen has Harding on the ropes now and is expected to press his advantage by reminding the voters that Harding, during the 1960 campaign, promised not to run for re-election if he did not get Federal funds for the Burns Creek project. In one of its last acts this session, the House voted down appropriations for Burns Creek.

Carney vs. Trimble—3rd Ark.

Thirty-nine-year-old businessman and rancher Cy Carney is one of the GOP's brightest hopes in the South. In a clear-cut battle of philosophies, Carney has an excellent chance of retiring Arkansas' most liberal Representative, nine-term Democrat James W. Trimble. An unquestioning sup-



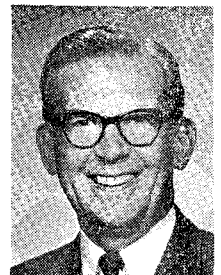
CARNEY

porter of the New Frontier's free-spending power grab, Trimble has an ACA rating of only 9 per cent.

The last GOP opponent Trimble had—in 1956—received 38 per cent of the vote, and the District has been expanded this year to include many Republican areas. Nixon carried 12 of the 18 counties in the new District; he received almost 58 per cent of the vote, with a winning margin of over 15,000 ballots. Facts like these contribute heavily to the optimism in the Carney organization.

Hayes vs. Smith—Texas Lt. Gov.

No one has campaigned harder for statewide office in Texas than has Bill Hayes, Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Out on the road almost every day for the past year, Hayes arises at 5:30 A.M., reads the papers and then gets into his car for his day's travels. He has already covered more than 40,000 miles, made more than 400 speeches and estimates he has shaken nearly 100,000 hands.



HAYES

Hayes is running as an outspoken conservative, sharing the views of GOP gubernatorial candidate Jack Cox. (See *Human Events*, July 6.) Hayes charges his opponent, Democratic State Senator Preston Smith, with being "a political opportunist" who "won't say anything, won't stand still on any issue—a dish-rag candidate." Hayes, on the other hand, has been praised by Dick West, editorial page editor of the *Dallas Morning News*, for having "the conviction of solid beliefs and the willingness to preach them." An erectly tall, 44-year-old businessman, active in civic and charitable affairs, Hayes is appalled by the acceptance of the welfare state by so many Americans and the softness of US opposition to the Red menace.

As Lieutenant Governor, Hayes would back several reforms to strengthen the Texas Legislature. Among them would be one to open all Senate committee hearings to the public—some are now secret—and another to abolish the vote-switching scheme that perpetuates political expediency in Texas by allowing state senators to vote one way—for the lobbies—while a bill is being considered and then later change their votes on the official record to fool the voters.

Human Events READERS IN FRONT with Year-round Political Action

John Ashbrook says, "The accurate information and sound philosophy that *Human Events* offers has been indispensable to me and my campaign workers in bringing to the people of my district an increased awareness of their stake in the free enterprise system."

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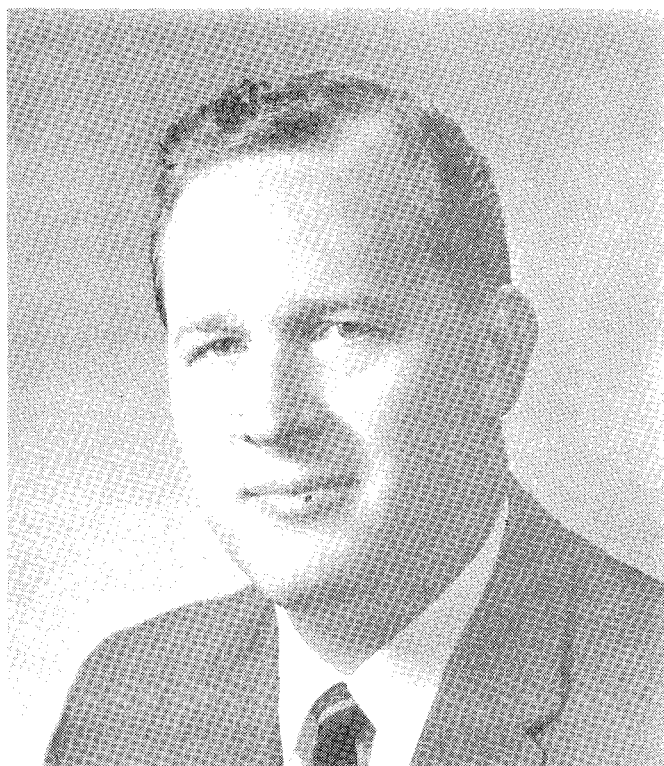
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The result of this new awareness? John Ashbrook, conservative Republican, was elected in 1960 to Ohio's important 17th Congressional District, a seven-county area which boasts a strong agricultural economy and the growing industrial towns of Newark and Mansfield. Mansfield with a population of 47,325, is the largest city in the district.



CONGRESSMAN JOHN ASHBROOK

Ashbrook continues, "My constituents, many of them working men and women, are becoming increasingly skeptical of those who profess to bleed profusely for the needs of the working man and the downtrodden. They understand that you need taxes, taxes, and more taxes to carry out wild-eyed, liberal schemes and that it is the working man, as much as anyone else, who will be called upon to pay and pay and pay for dubious benefits. They understand that every handout from the Federal government has its price, both in terms of money and freedom.

(Continued overleaf)

Human Events has been largely responsible for this renewed understanding ...

...of economic truths and year-round support for the mounting opposition to the big spending programs of the New Frontier.

"Human Events readers—well-informed, able citizens—were among my best campaign workers."

In 1960, these motivated citizens helped retire liberal Democrat Robert Levering from the 17th District seat. He had chalked up an 80 per cent favorable rating from the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action. As a rubber-stamp for the labor bosses, Levering voted against the moderate Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill.

In office, Ashbrook has forged a sound conservative record, favoring private medical care and local control of education, and opposing labor union abuses. The Americans for Constitutional Action accords him a 100 per cent conservative rating.

Do you know people in your community who could become active in sending more men like John Ashbrook to Congress and mobilizing support for them after election? If so, see that they receive a gift subscription to *Human Events* this Christmas.

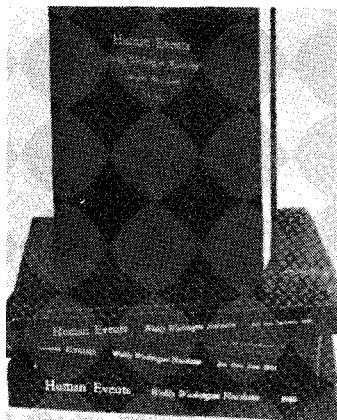
Make a list of people in your community or your occupation who might become political activists if they read *Human Events*. Give Christmas gifts of *Human Events* subscriptions at the special \$9.50 rate and **SAVE \$3 ON YOUR OWN SUBSCRIPTION** by renewing it at the same time.

Mail your Christmas list today!

Your Christmas list this year can be a constructive act toward preserving a free America.

An Additional Bonus:

A gift subscription order of \$75 or more entitles you to a FREE bound volume of *Human Events* for January-June, 1962, with complete index (regular price, \$15). A gift subscription order of \$150 or more entitles you to both the bound volumes for 1962, January-June and July-December.



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HUMAN EVENTS

How to Win the Election

(ADVERTISEMENT)

The USA is in a political mess. Past economic crimes are coming home to roost. Both leftists and rightists are awakening to the fact that the Welfare State is becoming an Ill-fare state. The election will be largely fought on this subject. Major L. L. B. Angas, Saxtons River, Vermont, has therefore written

a 40-page pamphlet entitled "The Inarticulate Republicans vs. The Vote-Buying Democrats" (\$3). The book discusses the numerous Popular Political Economic and Monetary Fallacies—of both the left and right—which have led to the general confusion which now prevails.

Many individuals, looking ahead to Election Day, are not quite sure of what the opposing candidates REALLY stand for—Capitalism or Socialism. One moment one is for "one thing": the next day for another. And many of us advocate "two incompatibles" at once.

We ask for Peace, yet we prepare for another war (to end all wars). We want aid from our governments. Yet we want fewer taxes. We are both individualists and collectivists simultaneously. Our minds in fact are quite muddled. . . and not yet "made up".

Marxists and Semi-Marxists

Marx and his socialist "Liberals", in 1848, argued that the government (bureaucrats) could do anything and everything better than could Individuals. They therefore wanted to nationalize all industry, i.e. the past savings of private savers, which had been invested in buildings, factories, transportation, and machinery, etc. But what is often forgotten is that the Socialists wanted to communize not only capital but also income via Income Taxes. . . re-distributing it as they, the middle-class intelligentsia, thought best.

Our Parlor Pinks

Although both the socialists and the communists claim to represent the workers and to be a working class movement, that of course is merely a Big Lie adopted in order to get votes. The leaders of economic revolutions have not been workingmen but Parlor Pinks in quest of power or wealth which they could not get in competitive free enterprise.

Their plan is to buy votes from the crowd by offering other people's money. They are Robbing Hoods. . . who are always popular with us, the lazy crowd, if the robbing can be presented as Justice, by means of a verbal formula which relieves the conscience of the individual who receives the stolen doles. Stolen, via the monopoly of government Force, from

savers, to benefit those who have not saved!

Why All Socialists are Thieves. Vote Buying & Vote Selling

If V (a voter) steals directly from S (a saver), then V is a thief. If V employs P (a politician) to steal from S by force, on his behalf, then both are thieves. . . for V is stealing by proxy.

The thieving is made 'legal', since done subtly via Taxation. . . yet for the benefit of a special class—as distinct from for the *general* good. The lazy and thriftless are given the Right to Steal from (and be supported by) savers and past savers. . . all in the sacred name of DEMOCRACY, and majority rule. The system in actual practice is:- "Government OF the crooks, BY the crooks, FOR the crooks."

Now let us look at the United States of America—which are a sort of rehearsal or test-model for a World United States. Let us take the case of the Republicans first.

The Modern Republicans

There are of course 2 sorts of Republicans—"real" Republicans, and semi-Socialists.

The former, in England, would be called Conservatives—because they wish to "conserve" the Free Enterprise System, which is the only economic system capable of providing the Individual with maximum liberty. That is why the system is also called Individualism.

Most Republicans regard such a system as the one aimed at by the American Constitution. . . and also by the Declaration of Independence which complained that the government (George III and Lord North). . . "Has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance".

But this is what the welfare state

is doing with its harassments. It is out-Georgeing George the Third.

And the worst of it is that the general public only get back in *individual* benefits about half what the government taxes them, for the sake of those benefits. Bureaucrats get, or waste, the rest. And the relations of the bureaucrats thrive through nepotism as much as did George III's friends.

Ethics of Taxes

Conservatives of course *believe* in taxes. . . provided that they are for the GENERAL good. But they do not believe in taxes for the benefit of a selected few. They object to unfair Privileges *as much as* did the framers of the US Constitution.

The Modern Democrats

But just as there are 2 Republican sects so are there also 2 sects of Democrats. . . namely the old fashioned Jeffersonian Conservatives—similar to the old Liberal Party in England—and the modern semi-socialist Big-government Rooseveltian Democrats. In other words, a Democrat was not originally a socialist. . . nor would he favor mob rule either by the crowd or by Unions.

The government was to have the sole monopoly of Force and to occupy itself in defense, justice, law and order. Its only economic enterprises were to be those which private enterprise could not perform for itself at all, or so well.

Ethical Dilemma of the Democrats

The above are *still* the views of many modern Democrats, even though the political leadership of their Party has been captured by semi-socialists styling themselves Liberals and Humanists—who today believe in centralized power and not in individual liberty. . . ((such as only the Free Market system, known as Individualism or capitalism, can give)).

Yet so loyal are many *Southern* Democrats to the party of their forefathers that they run in the same political harness, and on the same platform, as the self-styled Liberals who are really Socialists, & Internationalists. Scrupulously honoring old territorial Traditions they sadly compromise unscrupulously with their Principles.

Psychology of the Capitalist System

1. Only a moron who likes wasting time will agree to effect an exchange unless he prefers what he gets to what he parts with. The seller conversely only sells if he prefers the money to the "good". They must DIS-agree, not Agree, about RELATIVE values. And yet our impractical orthodox classical textbooks have brainwashed us into believing, like parrots, that Values-in-Exchange are EQUAL!

2. Both sides make a MENTAL PROFIT by reaping a net surplus of satisfaction over sacrifice. *The Twin or Mutual Mental Profit System*. It results from people having Opposite Private Preferences... and from their Disagreeing (not Agreeing) about Relative Values.

3. To make a MONETARY PROFIT a producer or middleman or shopkeeper must, in succession, find TWO different private persons who mutually disagree about RELATIVE Values:—The farmer must prefer Half-a-dollar for a pound of produce; whereas the housewife must prefer the same produce to One dollar. It is Opposite Private Preferences which make good trade. They result in the main from Specialization.

4. Root Theory of How (All) Prices Get Made:—Actually what happens is this: Each individual valuer puts as many of the competing price-influencing factors as he can think of into the churning hopper of his brain (his valuing machine). Then he presses his mental button of Decision: and out comes a definite personal choice between the individual thing and a given amount of money.

5. If producers can make a money profit, they go on producing more of that product. Losses soon drive them out of business: It is the consumers who keep the producers in business and who decide what they shall re-produce.

6. Thus it is the consumers, rather than the producers or the government, who decide BY THEIR DOLLAR VOTES how much capital and labor go on flowing into the *already-established* industries. The system is therefore *democratic*, not dictatorial.

7. Virtually the only power the capitalists have is to decide what *new* products they will riskily produce; and how much of their own savings they will invest in industry or commerce. They are speculators in machinery, inventories, and in human labor... being brave enough to pay their working employes a weekly wage BEFORE the product is yet finished, OR SOLD.

Wages (despite the fallacy of the Chamber of Commerce) are NOT paid out of the PRODUCT, but out of Working Capital (past savings)!

N.B. Despite the Clayton Act, Labor IS a commodity though a laborer is not! Employment depends largely

Real Life!

In actual daily practice what governs wages is the same Law which governs all forms of prices—including stocks and commodities—namely the law of Average Public Opinion... which expresses itself operationally via the Law of Compensation.

* N. B. The word *compensare* in Latin means "to make to balance," as in physics. We are not using the word in the sense of "pay for work done."

"HOW TO WIN THE NEXT ELECTION"

A Study of Democracy On Trial

Vote for Policies... Not Personalities—In the hope of clearing up some of the popular political and economic fallacies which prevail, Major Angas has written his pamphlet "HOW TO WIN THE NEXT ELECTION" or "The Inarticulate Republicans vs. The Vote-Buying Democrats." It comprises a kit of verbal tools which every candidate for election (and voter) should have at his mental fingertips. It will help you with your business forecasting.

Part I

VOTE BUYING & VOTE SELLING

Chap.

1. Must Democracy Mean Inflation?
2. Why good Things Need Not be Good on Net Balance.
3. Need to Think in Depth and Width
4. The Inflation Puzzle... Its Semantics

Part 2

THE CAPITALIST "SYSTEM"

5. Capitalism the Unknown. Its Operative Mechanics.
6. Futility of Gov't Interference with Single Prices
7. Politics of Stabilizing General Prices
8. Can Full Employment be Guaranteed?
9. Is a Boom-Bust Cycle Inevitable?
10. Patchwork Policy Piled on Patchwork Policy

Part 3

CAPITALISM vs. SOCIALISM

11. How Profit is Born... Its Ethics
12. The Freedoms... Of, To, & From
13. Which System Gives Most Liberty
14. Which System is the Most Productive

Part 4

FALLACIES Re WHAT FIXES PRICES

15. Economics of Taxation & Debt
16. Who or What Fixes Wages
17. Confusion Re What Makes Prices
18. High Politics of Specialization

on the wages asked by workers... & on how much Working Capital the bosses *risk* in employing them.

8. As regards the silly contention of Albert Einstein that "Production is for Profit not for Use" the truth of course is as follows:—If production is not for use you make no sales, and therefore make no profits. Thus production is for use as well as for profits. The Humanists, as ever, twist the truth around.

9. Slumps and booms occur in the main (i.e. under stable money) because of changes in the consumer dollar vote. But do not blame the capitalist System *nor* the Capitalists. Blame the freedoms enjoyed by the consuming Public.

The Invisible Hand

10. The 2 great automatic regulators by which the System is controlled are: MOVING Prices. . . & MOVING Profits. The price of No Dictators (freedom) is fluctuation. If anyone prevents *either* of these 2 big Controlling levers from operating automatically (or if he muddles MONEY) he will positively CAUSE the Capitalist System to break down.

Part 5

CYCLICAL SLUMPS... THEIR CURES

19. The 3 Root Causes of Slumps
20. When Not to Stop Slumps
21. Why Monetary Inflation was NOT the Right Cure to the 1958 slump

Part 6

THE INTEREST RATE BATTLE

22. Politics of Cheap Money
23. Economics of Capital... of Savings
24. Why Savings are So Scarce
25. Occasional Need for Dear Money
26. Resultant Fool's Chorus

Part

ARE ALL SOCIALISTS THIEVES

27. Unfit to Govern
28. Our Steady Drift via Liberalism, into Communism
29. Are All Liberals Socialists
30. Why All Socialists Are Thieves
31. Spreading Mistrust of the Welfare State

Appendix

HOW TO WIN THE NEXT ELECTION

32. Weaknesses of the Conservative Party
33. A Conservative Manifesto
34. Specific Platform & Planks

Major Angas, who is past president of the Oxford University Economics Society, first attracted attention in Wall Street with his *Coming American Boom* (1934). At that time *Fortune* described him as a stock market writer who "By being consistently right for a period of ten years had become something of a legend." He is the author of the worldwide best-seller *Investment for Appreciation*. He was among the few market economists who predicted the May/June panic of 1962. His latest prediction is that America will, wisely or unwisely, abandon gold altogether after the election and gold shares and South Africa will crash.